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***A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA
(Received in June 1984)***

July 1984

Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss

PREFACE

This bibliography continues the monthly series compiling analytic material on the nations of South Asia. The countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. This selective reference work is intended to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations of South Asia. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, cataloged, or indexed, in June 1984.

Citations are arranged geographically and listed alphabetically by author within each country section. Works bearing on or analyzing more than one nation are entered under each country concerned. Where citations lack an accompanying abstract, the work was not on hand at the time of this issue; an abstract will be included when the work is received.

Word processing was accomplished by Patti Saltsman.

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AFGHANISTAN

Amin, Tahir. "Afghan Resistance: Past, Present and Future." Asian Survey, vol. XXIV (April 1984), p. 373.

Afghanistan's political environment changed in the constitutional era (1950s-60s) when modernization created a middle class which discarded traditional loyalties in favor of two ideologies: communism and fundamentalist Islam. Even prior to the 1978 Taraki coup, the Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was assisting fundamentalist Afghans in armed insurrection against liberal government policies. Taraki's takeover publicized the resistance because the government declared an open redirection toward "building socialism." Today's resistance groups, which Amin iterates, are divided between those who do and those who do not consider Islam to be an all-encompassing social framework. (notes)

Hosmer, Stephen T. and Wolfe, Thomas W. Soviet Policy and Practice Toward Third World Conflicts. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1983, 318 pp.

Chapter 9, "The Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan" (pp. 109-23) describes Soviet efforts to buttress the shaky Taraki regime (1978-79). Civil and military Soviet delegations visited Afghanistan to oversee government actions as well as to improve civil infrastructure with military adaptability. The authors are associated with the RAND Corporation. (bibliography, index, notes)

Saikal, Amin. "The Pakistan Unrest and the Afghanistan Problem." The World Today, vol. 40 (March 1984), p. 102.

Pakistani President Ziaul-Haq's Afghanistan policy features tangible support of the mujahiddin and their refugee constituents, at the same time that Pakistan negotiates with the Afghan government and its Soviet sponsors through United Nations talks which exclude mujahiddin representatives. By participating in the UN talks, Kabul and Moscow are able to publicize their "nonviolent aspirations" even as they conduct unspeakable brutalities against the Afghan population. Pakistan's opposition parties have decided that the 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan are the only major issue which might weaken public acceptance of President Zia, so some of these parties have begun calling for direct negotiation with Kabul leading to a settlement which will allow repatriation of the refugees.

Shahi, Agha. "Prospects of a Political Settlement of the War in Afghanistan." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. VII (Spring 1984), p. 3.

Pakistan's former foreign minister defines the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a conflict between a superpower and a developing country. By

removing Soviet motives from the arena of superpower competition, Shahi derives 14 reasons for hoping that the occupation can be ended through direct political negotiations by the nations in the region. However, the incentives for Soviet cooperation which Shahi spells out are primarily applicable to the cold war balance of forces. This article is a useful expansion of the calculations which support optimism regarding a political settlement.

BANGLADESH

Sen, Sumanta. "Fencing the Frontier." India Today, 15 May 1984, p. 18.

During the first week of April, Indian Border Security Forces began guarding laborers hired by New Delhi to build a fence on the Indo-Bangladesh border. When the smaller nation's diplomatic protests failed to halt the work, Bangladesh Rifles were assigned to guard laborers digging a trench which, when filled with water, would wash out the fence's supports. Indian forces fired, resulting in one to four casualties. New Delhi has stopped work on the fence for fear of laborer fatalities, but eventually will face pressure from Assamese protesters lobbying for completion of the project. Because Bangladeshis in the area make their meager livings from smuggling, Dacca is under domestic pressure to halt the fence. The two nations must also divide up the lives and land of families whose property sits astride the newly confirmed border.

Yeo, Don. Bangladesh: A Traveler's Guide. Middlesex: Roger Lascelles, 1982, 188 pp.

Visitors who venture off the beaten path in Bangladesh encounter a grueling climate and flood-soaked terrain whose features shift constantly under pressure from the expanding population. Primitive accommodations and medical facilities force foreigners to undertake substantial precautions before leaving Dhaka. Rural Bangladesh has many insects, rodents, plants and germs whose effects can be fatal. The author gives instructions on dealing with a wide range of transportation problems such as sudden or long-term inavailability of bridges and ferries, unexpected inundation of roads, and extreme unreliability of local transport.

INDIA

Ali, Salamat. "In Step with Tradition." Far Eastern Economic Review, 31 May 1984, p. 25.

Throughout decades of modernization programs, India's military services have retained numerous features from the imperial British structure, particularly in civil-military relations and recruitment practices. During the 1970s New Delhi attempted to diversify its suppliers as it upgraded its hardware, but only through the soft terms offered by the Soviet Union could weapons procurement goals be fulfilled without bankrupting the economy. A sidebar to this cover story explains the origin of

various ranks such as jamedars, subedars and subedars major. There is also a table of India's current military strength.

Ali, Salamat. "Something Rotten." Far Eastern Economic Review, 14 June 1984, p. 17.

Rioting in Bhiwandi, Maharashtra, which spread to the state capital, Bombay, has demonstrated several political trends which have arisen as various sectors of society try to hold or gain power at the expense of newcomers. First, the Congress-I party has been accused of undercutting minority religions (Islam, Sikhism) to retain its faltering hold on the Hindu heartland of the north. Small Muslim parties in several states have begun campaigning against the longstanding Muslim strategy of forming a bloc within the Congress-I to pressure government from within. Second, organized crime has obtained jobs for lower-class Maharashtrians through "unionization" which is mostly intimidation. Third, corruption of the police and state government has gutted local determination to solve these problems, leaving the central government as the only credible authority.

Batra, Satkartar. Ports of India, Kandla: Kandla Commercial, 1974, 200 pp.

India has eight major ports suitable for shipping. Several have developed specialized handling facilities such as cotton fumigation, cranes, and storage tanks. There is a map of each port showing berths, docks, seawalls, turning basins, and all dimensions. Tables in the back of the book give maximum draughts and lengths for vessels. A final section discusses development plans. Despite its age, the book will provide a good introduction to its subject. (maps, tables)

Benner, Jeffrey. Structure of Decision: The Indian Foreign Policy Bureaucracy. New Delhi: South Asian, 1984, 214 pp.

Using the British era as the historical and structural starting point, Benner traces the growth of several levels of Indian foreign policy bureaucracy, including the Foreign Service, the upper political echelons, research and intelligence agencies, economic and political-military analysts, domestic civil service, and agencies which represent India in the international organizations. Benner mentions prime ministers only insofar as their administrative practices shaped various organizations. (index, notes)

Bhupal, K. "A History of Militancy Makes the Sikhs a Formidable Force." Far Eastern Economic Review, 24 May 1984, p. 48.

Since its establishment in 1920, the Akali Dal party has contested power in the Punjab with the Indian National Congress and its successor parties, Congress and Congress-I. Although Punjab is the home for many Sikhs and is associated with them, they play a vital role throughout India, and have particularly concentrated on military careers.

Cloughley, Brian. "Trapped as Pawns in the Superpower Game." Far Eastern Economic Review, 31 May 1984, p. 30.

Prospects for war between India and Pakistan have increased recently, due to both nations' rapid acquisition of military hardware. The imbalance of forces remains large, while the entire regional map reflects growing political instability. Cloughley, an Australian Army officer who served with the United Nations in South Asia, argues that India and Pakistan need not join the superpower drift into cold war, but can strike their own agreements on Kashmir and arms reduction measures. The threat which China once posed to India is no longer credible, a fact which India tacitly admits by placing the bulk of its forces on the front facing Pakistan.

Elkin, Jerrold F. and Fredericks, Brian. "India's Space Program: Accomplishments, Goals, Politico-Military Implications." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. VII (Spring 1984), p. 46.

India's space program, like the nuclear program it complements, combines ostensibly peaceful objectives with military adaptability. The space program could be adjusted to serve such missions as reconnaissance, C³, and delivery of intermediate range ballistic missiles to buttress New Delhi's "middle power" aspirations. India's insistence on domestic rather than turnkey production has retarded development of capability at the top levels, and resulted in some failures. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi continues to believe a strong space agenda must be unfettered by diplomatic restraints. (notes)

India (Republic). Planning Commission. Sixth Five Year Plan: 1980-85, New Delhi: 1981, 463 pp.

This comprehensive document addresses various categories of the Indian economy: projects for national productivity as well as programs for uplift of specific groups, including women, hill tribes, and the under-classes. The goals of planning, particularly socioeconomic justice and national strength, are enunciated in the opening sections. (appendices, tables)

Gupta, Shekhar. "The Drug Debate." India Today, 15 May 1984, p. 147.

Western countries have recently tracked illicit drugs to India, which is the world's foremost supplier of legal opium destined for pharmaceutical companies. As other nations have begun competing for the legal opium market, India's opium producers have entered the search for illegal customers to offset diminution of their legitimate market. Some Pakistani exporters have been passing through India to reach the west with their cargo, drawing strong Indian reaction. Reportedly, Indian officials have approached Pakistan to begin coordination of a regional solution.

Gupta, Shehkar, Chawla, Prabhu, and Thukral, Gobind. "Is There a Way Out?" India Today, 15 May 1984, p. 50.

Delay by the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has destroyed the "soft option" in the Punjab. Many of the Akali Dal's original religious demands have been conceded by the central government, and the water dispute has finally been brought into the Supreme Court by the neighboring state of Rajasthan. But terrorism and hydra-headed provocations have incapacitated the Punjab state police, and similar weakness is seeping into other parts of India where Sikhs have settled. Nationwide linkages between the Punjab crisis and other seemingly local or communal disruptions, as well as among Sikhs around the world, are admirably clarified by this article.

Naik, J. A. The Opposition in India and the Future of Democracy. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1983, 215 pp.

Opposition parties which have done well in India's national elections have ridden popular waves of disenchantment with the ruling parties. However, in 1984-85, the only nationwide opposition is a front group which is unlikely to impress India's voters as being able to form and lead a government. The three types of parties in opposition have inherent limitations. Regional parties are prevented by caste loyalties from developing ideological depth, even though it is the ideological parties which offer the best structure for national mobilization. Parties formed by disaffected Congress-I politicians remain confined to their self-serving constituencies. Naik claims to see ample evidence of CIA activity in the opposition parties, but says the Soviet Union is less aggressive than the United States only because the central government is so willing to follow Soviet leads. (appendices, index)

Pai Panandiker, V. A. and Sud, Arun. Changing Political Representation in India. New Delhi: Uppal, 1983, 99 pp.

India's first seven Lok Sabhas have included a diverse range of members in such categories as education status, occupation, gender, and age. A large number of legislators did not finish university, which the authors attribute to political activity and consequent imprisonments during college years. (appendices, bibliography, index, tables)

Peiris, Denzil. "Island Centre of Ocean Politics." South, June 1984, p. 19.

China's recent production of two nuclear submarines with a missile-launching capability has raised Indian fears that Sri Lanka will grant Beijing visitation rights to the port of Trincomalee and thereby contribute to Chinese encirclement of the Indian Subcontinent. Colombo's non-alignment forecloses excessive open linkage with the United States, leaving China as the obvious potential counterweight to Indian regional dominance and domestic instability among Sri Lankan Tamils. Part of India's sympathy for Sri Lankan Tamil terrorists may reflect a calculation that the unrest will prevent Colombo from moving rapidly into an anti-Soviet, anti-Indian agreement on Trincomalee.

Ram, Mohan. "The Army's Peacemakers." Far Eastern Economic Review, 14 June 1984, p. 18.

India's constitution gives responsibility for civil order to the local and state police with assistance by paramilitary forces under command of the government of the state to which they are deployed. However, the Border Security Forces (BSF) remain under command of the central government, regardless of where they serve. The BSF further attempts to dilute its members' local loyalties by an all-India recruitment policy. The states, the opposition parties, and civil liberties groups all carefully monitor the use of these forces. In 1983, a proposal to have the Army oversee Assam's elections was declared unconstitutional by the Central Election Commission. In the case of ethnic insurgencies, however, the public widely supports the use of BSF and Army troops, leaving some Indians in disturbed areas to live with fewer civil liberties than the population at large.

Ram, Mohan. "Presidential Powers." Far Eastern Economic Review, 7 June 1984, p. 27.

Even in Indira Gandhi's home state of Uttar Pradesh, the Congress-I party has suffered unprecedented losses. Speculation is rampant that the prime minister will exploit her domination of the sitting parliament to introduce presidential government with fixed terms of office. Rajiv Gandhi's failure to win popular acclaim as heir apparent in the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty could force his mother to act before the next election in order to preserve the mantle and enhance its powers. Although India's opposition has shown remarkable growth at the state level, it remains fragmented on the national scene. In 1975, Gandhi was obliged to drop plans for changing the constitution, but today's opposition may not have the cohesion necessary to block such a move.

Ramunny, Murkat. Lakshadweep. New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1979, 87 pp.

"The coral islands of the Arabian Sea known as Lakshadweep are 27 in number. . . . Out of these, ten are inhabited, and the others are dependent islands and are cultivated." The natural harbors and enclosed lagoons in this chain have attracted traders and navies since early Arab trading days. Rising only 3 to 9 meters above the sea, most of the islands have occasionally been subject to violent storms, but India has proceeded with full development and integration of their small, Muslim populations.

"The Rising Sun: Indo-Japanese Business Relations." India Today, 15 May 1984, p. 77.

To coincide with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's first visit to India, the nation's major newsweekly presents a multipage special feature reviewing Japan's postwar economic progress and discussing the weak economic ties between Asia's two largest democracies. The article points out that the official visit may not immediately improve Japan's

willingness to invest in or supply aid to India, partly because of poor groundwork by the Indians. There are numerous examples of cooperative efforts in public and private sectors, leading to success and to failure.

Sen, Sumanta. "Fencing the Frontier." India Today, 15 May 1984, p. 18.

During the first week of April, Indian Border Security Forces began guarding laborers hired by New Delhi to build a fence on the Indo-Bangladesh border. When the smaller nation's diplomatic protests failed to halt the work, Bangladesh Rifles were assigned to guard laborers digging a trench which, when filled with water, would wash out the fence's supports. Indian forces fired, resulting in one to four casualties. New Delhi has stopped work on the fence for fear of laborer fatalities, but eventually will face pressure from Assamese protesters lobbying for completion of the project. Because Bangladeshis in the area make their meager livings from smuggling, Dacca is under domestic pressure to halt the fence. The two nations must also divide up the lives and land of families whose property sits astride the newly confirmed border.

Vellor, Ravi. "Now, the Fallout." Asiaweek, 22 June 1984, p. 6.

The Indian Army stormed the Sikh's Golden Temple as the climax of a complex web of events woven by individuals of unusual stature. In 1980, the Congress-I party in Punjab, led by the current president of India, Zail Singh, used the fundamentalist messianic charisma of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale to undercut the moderate Akali Dal party led by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. As Bhindranwale's threat to the unity of India has grown, Zail Singh, whose religious knowledge has earned him the honorary title "Giani," has become torn between his constitutional role and his religion. Throughout India, Sikhs have been enraged by the storming of Golden Temple, a military operation carefully led by Muslim, Sikhs and Hindu officers. The deterioration of secularism, much of which can be blamed on the Congress-I government in New Delhi, poses a great threat to the country's future as a democracy.

NEPAL

Sharma, Kul Sekhar. "Another Year of Confusion and Lack of Direction." Asian Survey, vol. XXIV (February 1984), p. 257.

Economic and political turbulence marked the year 1983 in the Kingdom of Nepal. The government's resources and the national standard of living were cut by declines in exports and foreign investment. Financial mismanagement was among the reasons the partyless national legislature removed Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa. Because legislators did not debate in public, there is little understanding, even in the legislature, of how and why the unusual overthrow was managed. Nepal's foreign policy was marked by increasing strain with India, which fell behind on several aid projects. A bilateral commission recommended termination of the current open borders policy. The president of Pakistan made a state visit

to Nepal, which was not balanced by any high-level contacts with India.
(notes)

PAKISTAN

Amin, Tahir. "Afghan Resistance: Past, Present and Future." Asian Survey, vol. XXIV (April 1984), p. 373.

Afghanistan's political environment changed in the constitutional era (1950s-60s) when modernization created a middle class which discarded traditional loyalties in favor of two ideologies: communism and fundamentalist Islam. Even prior to the 1978 Taraki coup, the Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was assisting fundamentalist Afghans in armed insurrection against liberal government policies. Taraki's takeover publicized the resistance because the government declared an open redirection toward "building socialism." Today's resistance groups, which Amin iterates, are divided between those who do and those who do not consider Islam to be an all-encompassing social framework. (notes)

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Khan, Mahmood Hasan. Underdevelopment and Agrarian Structure in Pakistan. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1981, 292 pp.

Social structure in rural Sind and Punjab reflect landholding and productivity patterns which have evolved in the Indus Valley over many centuries. In Sind, large landholders predominate while in Punjab small and medium-sized holdings are more in evidence. Sind farmers are disadvantaged because of their dependence on rainfed canals, while Punjabis received tubewell canals in the last 2 decades which enable them to irrigate more land during the dry months. Pakistan has twice tried implementing land reforms, but for various reasons was not successful, despite benefits to some families. Analysts trying to isolate economic grievances in the rivalry between the two provinces will find this work invaluable. (bibliography, graphs, index, maps, notes, tables)

Neuman, Stephanie G., ed. Defense Planning in Less-Industrialized States: The Middle East and South Asia. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1984, 300 pp.

Chapter 7, "Defense Planning in Pakistan" by Shirin Tahir-Kheli, and Chapter 8, "Past and Future in Pakistan" by Stephen Philip Cohen analyze Pakistan's overall defense strategies. Cohen points out that Pakistan's British- and American-trained officers disliked unconventional warfare, and gratefully discarded it following its failure in Kashmir. Tahir-Kheli summarizes the balance of power among the three services, noting the overwhelming preponderance of the army. Because most of Pakistan's population and economic centers are close to the frontier with India, Islamabad's current strategy for defense calls for holding off any invasion and summoning international pressure for a negotiated cease-fire. (index, map, notes)

Qureshi, M. Tariq. "Pakistan's Air Power." Flight International, vol. 125 (5 May 1984), p. 1208.

Shallow geographical depth has forced Pakistan to design an air defense system which emphasizes early detection of enemy penetration, quick interceptor response, and careful husbanding of each aircraft. Although the nation has upgraded its hardware, its primary advantage lies in the training and dedication of its highly rated pilots. If Afghanistan, with its Soviet-supported air force, should undertake a serious threat to Pakistan, the latter would be unable to defend itself, although a better early warning system could lessen its losses.

Rahman, Mushtaqur. "Land Tenure Systems in Sind Province, Pakistan." Asian Profile, vol. 6 (February 1978), p.55.

Smallholders and sharecroppers in Sind face systemic disadvantages in pursuing their livelihoods. The large landowners have traditionally demanded better than 50 percent of the sharecroppers' produce, preventing the latter from accumulating any savings. Smallholders have suffered severe land fragmentation, especially due to the practice of subdividing each family plot among all heirs, rather than parcelling out self-contained sections equalling each heir's portion of the whole. Land reform laws in 1950, 1959, and 1972 addressed these problems, but were foiled by the largeholders' vested interests and the smallholders' attachment to their traditional family lands. Although this article lacks the depth of Mahmood Hasan Khan's Underdevelopment and Agrarian Structure in Pakistan, it provides a quick overview of the underlying problems in Sind. (maps, notes, tables)

Saikal, Amin. "The Pakistan Unrest and the Afghanistan Problem." The World Today, vol. 40 (March 1984), p. 102.

Pakistani President Ziaul-Haq's Afghanistan policy features tangible support of the mujahiddin and their refugee constituents, at the same time that Pakistan negotiates with the Afghan Government and its Soviet sponsors through United Nations talks which exclude mujahiddin representatives. By participating in the UN talks, Kabul and Moscow are able to

publicize their "nonviolent aspirations" even as they conduct unspeakable brutalities against the Afghan population. Pakistan's opposition parties have decided that the 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan are the only major issue which might weaken public acceptance of President Zia, so some of these parties have begun calling for direct negotiation with Kabul leading to a settlement which will allow repatriation of the refugees.

Sayeed, Khalid bin. "Pakistan in 1983: Internal Stresses More Serious than External Problems." Asian Survey, vol. XXIV (February 1984), p. 219.

Pakistan's problems are aggravated by the lack of responsive democratic institutions. In autumn of 1983, Sind Province experienced rural unrest when temporary grievances accumulated atop tensions caused by longrun government insensitivity. The main complaint was distribution of irrigated land to non-Sindhis. Difficulties in the new five-year plan reflect private sector unwillingness to trust Zia's political longevity, as well as the high proportion of government spending diverted into procurement of defense hardware. Sayeed's treatment of the Sind crisis deserves special attention. (notes)

Shahi, Agha. "Prospects of a Political Settlement of the War in Afghanistan." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. VII (Spring 1984), p. 3.

Pakistan's former foreign minister defines the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a conflict between a superpower and a developing country. By removing Soviet motives from the arena of superpower competition, Shahi derives 14 reasons for hoping that the occupation can be ended through direct political negotiations by the nations in the region. However, the incentives for a Soviet cooperation which Shahi spells out are primarily applicable to the cold war balance of forces. This article is a useful expansion of the calculations which support optimism regarding a political settlement.

SRI LANKA

Dissanayak, T. D. S. S. The Agony of Sri Lanka: An In-Depth Account of the Racial Riots of 1983. Colombo: Swatiska, 1983, 120 pp.

Although neither balance nor detachment guide the selection of information for this book, the author has assembled a useful chronology of major Tamil terrorist acts and police responses. Historical Tamil grievances and random Sinhalese violence against the Tamil community are omitted from this inflammatory volume. However, useful documents are included, among them: President (then Prime Minister) J. R. Jayewardene's inaugural address to the parliament in 1977, several negotiated Tamil-Sinhalese agreements, and an Amnesty International press release dated 6 July 1983. (appendices, photographs, tables)

Matthews, Bruce. "The Situation in Jaffna--And How it Came About." The Round Table, vol. LXXIII (April 1984), p. 188.

In 1983, three streams of frustration came together in several months of turbulence. Potential for nonviolent expression of grievances had been eliminated by cancellation of the 1982 elections through a referendum which was technically legal but which the Tamil minority deeply resented. Sinhalese, despite their clear majority in Sri Lanka, experienced a renewed sense of their numerical inferiority relative to the Tamils of India, who retain a strong communal bond with the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Finally, the Sinhalese continued to emphasize the legendary role of Sri Lanka as the home for South Asian Buddhism following its decline in India. Matthews, who teaches in Canada, provides a rare sociopolitical analysis of the tensions in Sri Lanka. (notes)

Oberst, Robert. "The Politics of Change, Ideology and Structure in Sri Lanka." Asian Thought and Society, vol. 9 (March 1984), p. 57.

Since 1977 President J. R. Jayewardene has led his United National Party in a full-scale assault on the concept of democratic change. Constitutional amendments which brought Jayewardene to the presidency may prevent opposition parties from ever regaining power at the national level. Sinhalese intransigence, which has inspired these maneuvers, has created increasing frustration among political and communal minorities. The legal measures have shifted minority disenchantment onto the nation itself, leading to terrorism and the widening call for a separate Tamil nation. Jayewardene has made some overtures to Tamils, but the new governmental concentration of power makes his gestures inadequate. (notes)

Peiris, Denzil. "Island Centre of Ocean Politics." South, June 1984, p. 19.

China's recent production of two nuclear submarines with a missile-launching capability has raised concurrent Indian fears that Sri Lanka will grant Beijing visitation rights to the port of Trincomalee and thereby contribute to Chinese encirclement of the Indian Subcontinent. Colombo's nonalignment forecloses excessive open linkage with the United States, leaving China as the obvious potential counterweight to Indian regional dominance and domestic instability among Sri Lankan Tamils. Part of India's sympathy for Sri Lankan Tamil terrorists may reflect a calculation that the unrest will prevent Colombo from moving rapidly into an anti-Soviet, anti-Indian agreement on Trincomalee.

Subramaniam, Chitra. "The Swiss Dilemma." India Today, 15 May 1984, p. 71.

Riots in Sri Lanka in 1983 have caused groups of refugees to seek shelter in India and in Switzerland. The Tamils who arrive in Switzerland are almost all males between the ages of 17 and 25, who have bribed their way out of their homeland, sneaked across numerous borders, and walked as far as necessary to enter Switzerland at the less-patrolled frontiers. About 1,000 persons arrive each month, attracted by rumors of Swiss leniency and the presence of international organizations with headquarters in Geneva. Swiss authorities have become alarmed at the growing population of "foot people" seeking resettlement anywhere outside South Asia.